

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 224131

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 224131

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAR ESALAAM 3320, ACTION SECSTATE 10 SEP 76

QUOTE S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 3320

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY

DEPT PASS AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: NYERERE MEMORANDUM ON NAMIBIA

1. THE FOLLOWING CONFIDENTIAL "MEMORANDUM ON NAMIBIA" WAS
DELIVERED TO ME SEPTEMBER 10 BY MESSENGER FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE
TO PASS TO THE SECRETARY.

BEGIN TEXT. MEMORANDUM ON NAMIBIA

1. THREE POLITICAL FACTS HAVE TO BE RECOGNIZED:

(A) NAMIBIA IS A UNITED NATIONS TRUSTEESHIP TERRITORY;

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 224131

THE UNITED NATIONS HAS REASSERTED IT DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY

FOR THE TERRITORY, AND DECLARED SOUTH AFRICAN OCCUPATION TO BE ILLEGAL.

(B) THE U.N. HAS RECOGNISED SWAPO AS THE ONLY NATIONALIST MOVEMENT OF NAMIBIA. SO HAS THE O.A.U.

(C) SOUTH AFRICA IS IN DE FACTO OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA.

2. THE THREE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA ARE THEREFORE: THE UNITED NATIONS; SWAPO; AND SOUTH AFRICA. ANY CONFERENCE TO WORK OUT THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA DEPENDS UPON A MEETING OF OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THESE THREE BODIES.

3. THE COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATIONS OF EACH OF THESE GROUPS IS A MATTER FOR EACH OF THEM TO DETERMINE. THERE CAN BE NO OBJECTION TO SOUTH AFRICA INCLUDING IN ITS DELEGATION PEOPLE WHO WERE PRESENT AT THE 'CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE' IN WINDHOEK. NOR CAN ANY RESTRICTION BE PLACED ON THE RIGHT OF SWAPO TO INCLUDE IN ITS DELEGATION MEMBERS OR ASSOCIATES FROM INSIDE OR OUTSIDE NAMIBIA - INCLUDING ANY WHO ARE AT PRESENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS. THE FORM OF PARTICIPATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD PRESUMABLY BE DISCUSSED WITH THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL.

4. IT IS IMMATERIAL WHETHER THE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA IS PUBLICLY CALLED A 'RECONSTITUTED' OR 'RESUMED' WINDHOEK CONFERENCE BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

5. IT IS VITAL THAT EVERYONE SHOULD PRIVATELY UNDERSTAND THAT THE REAL PARTICIPANTS IN SUCH A CONFERENCE ARE SWAPO, SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THAT NO MEANINGFUL CONCLUSIONS CAN BE REACHED BY SUCH A MEETING WITHOUT THEIR AGREEMENT.

6. ONLY WITH AN ASSURANCE THAT THIS IS PRIVATELY UNDERSTOOD, AT LEAST BY THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN, CAN SWAPO BE EXPECTED TO ATTEND A MEETING WITH SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES. FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION, THE SOUTH AFRICANS MAY WISH TO TALK OF SWAPO BEING ONE OF MANY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 224131

NAMIBIAN PARTICIPANTS. AS FAR AS AFRICA IS CONCERNED, SWAPO IS THE ONLY MEANINGFUL NAMIBIAN PARTICIPANT. SWAPO NEEDS THE ASSURANCE THAT AFRICA'S POSITION IS SHARED BY THE UNITED STATES, EVEN IF THIS IS NOT PUBLICLY STATED AT THE PRESENT TIME.

9TH SEPTEMBER 1976

J.K.N.

END TEXT.

2. COMMENT: WHILE NYERERE SEEMS TO BE SHARPENING HIS CONDITIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS ON NAMIBIA, HE IS PROBABLY ALSO INSPIRED BY HIS USUAL GENUINE DESIRE AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS. FROM MY LIMITED PERSPECTIVE, MEMO DOES NOT NEGATE AMBASSADOR SCHAUFEL'S CONCLUSION PARA 10 DAR ES SALAAM 3280 THAT YOUR VISIT CAN PROCEED "WITH REASONABLE HOPES FROM AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE OF SUCCESS ON NAMIBIA.

SPAIN UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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